

New York Press Strike Over

New York Times readers settled back to enjoy the first Sunday paper to come out since members of the Allied Printing Trades Council, a coalition of newspaper unions, went on strike August 9th.

Presses began running again on November 6th after a tentative agreement was reached between the New York Times and Daily News and the Council. The New York Post resumed publication October 5th after workers there were assured of the same terms as those offered by the Times and the News. Rupert Murdoch, publisher of the New York Post, has announced that he will start a new morning paper, the Daily Sun, which will compete with both of the other papers for ad dollars, using as a base the gains he made by resuming publication before the other two papers.

The new agreement guarantees jobs for press operators over the six-year term of the contract. There is a wage-increase package of \$68 a week up to \$400 a week over the next three years. Wage increases for the last half of the contract will be negotiated at that time.

For both the press operators and the typographers, the issues of job stability have been the most emotional and intractable. The increasing automation of the newspaper industry threatens jobs and careers.

The cost of the strike in terms of workers' salaries, publishers' revenues, and the economy of New York City as a whole is estimated to be as high as \$100 million. The 114-day strike of 1962-63 was more economically damaging, with cost figures running to \$190 to \$250 million in an economy with half the inflationary standards of today's dollars.

BOYCOTT CAMPBELLS!

Starting in California, an unofficial boycott of Campbell products, including V-8 Juice, is growing. The boycott is in support of the workers at Campbell's Pacific Mushroom Plant. In September of 1977 the predominantly Mexican women and men at Pacific Mushroom voted 175 to 5 for United Farm Worker representation. After 10 months and 23 negotiation sessions between the UFW and Campbell, the workers still had no contract. In August of 1978 the workers struck.

Campbell was willing to discuss wage increases (the mushroom pickers made \$3.10 to \$3.40 an hour), but balked at the workers' non-economic demands. The workers want a strong grievance procedure. This is particularly important to the 30 to 50 single men who live in a company-owned camp, where they are subject to verbal and physical abuse by company foremen even in their living situation. The workers reject the company offers for benefits. Instead of the company pension plan, the workers want the UFW pension plan, whereby they can accumulate hours by working at different UFW companies. The company offered a medical plan that allows for a \$500 maternity benefit, while the union plan calls for \$700.

The workers are picketing the road to the company 24 hours a day seven days a week. Friends of the Farm Workers, a UFW support group, are transporting food and supplies to the strikers. Catholic churches in the San Francisco area have organized food-collection drives. But Campbell is a multi-million-dollar multinational corporation, and cannot be pressured by the shutdown of one small unit. Only widespread pressure can force Campbell to negotiate in good faith. So support the boycott, and put Campbell in the soup.

Women In Unions

In 1956 fewer than one in three of all civilian wage workers in the US were women; by 1976 two out of five workers were women. Women entering the work force during this period overwhelmingly found jobs in the clerical and service fields—fields traditionally non-unionized. This influx of workers into non-unionized fields is an important factor in explaining why, even though the total number of workers in unions grew 13% in these 30 years, the ratio of union workers to non-union workers dropped from one in three to one in five. Likewise, while the number of women who were union members increased 34%, the ratio of women union members to the total number of women workers dropped.

A look at employee associations, however, shows a different picture. Between 1970 (when the Bureau of Labor Statistics first surveyed state and professional associations) and 1976, the number of women in employee associations grew 80%, even though during the same years the number of women in unions rose less than 10%. In relation to the total number of women workers, this represents an increasing percentage of employee-association members and a decreasing percentage of union members. These employee associations include the National Education Association, which accounts for two out of three women members of associations; the American Nurses' Association; the National Federation of Licensed Practical Nurses; and the various associations of government workers.

Industrial Worker

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25 CENTS

Canadian Postal Strikes Crushed



CUPW members picket the Toronto Main Post Office during the Canadian postal strike.

After many months without a contract, the two major Canadian postal unions struck separately this fall, and lost. Fearful of the political consequences of renewing the now expired Canadian Federal wage controls, Prime Minister Trudeau had decided to make Canadian Federal employees an example of "restraint", starting with the postal workers.

Canada's postal workers are organized into two unions, the National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC) and the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW). The 19,000-member NALC represents mail-delivery workers, while the 23,000-member CUPW is made up of clerks, sorters, and other inside workers. There has been hostility and suspicion between the two unions in recent years, brought on, according to the NALC, by an attempted CUPW raid on its bargaining unit.

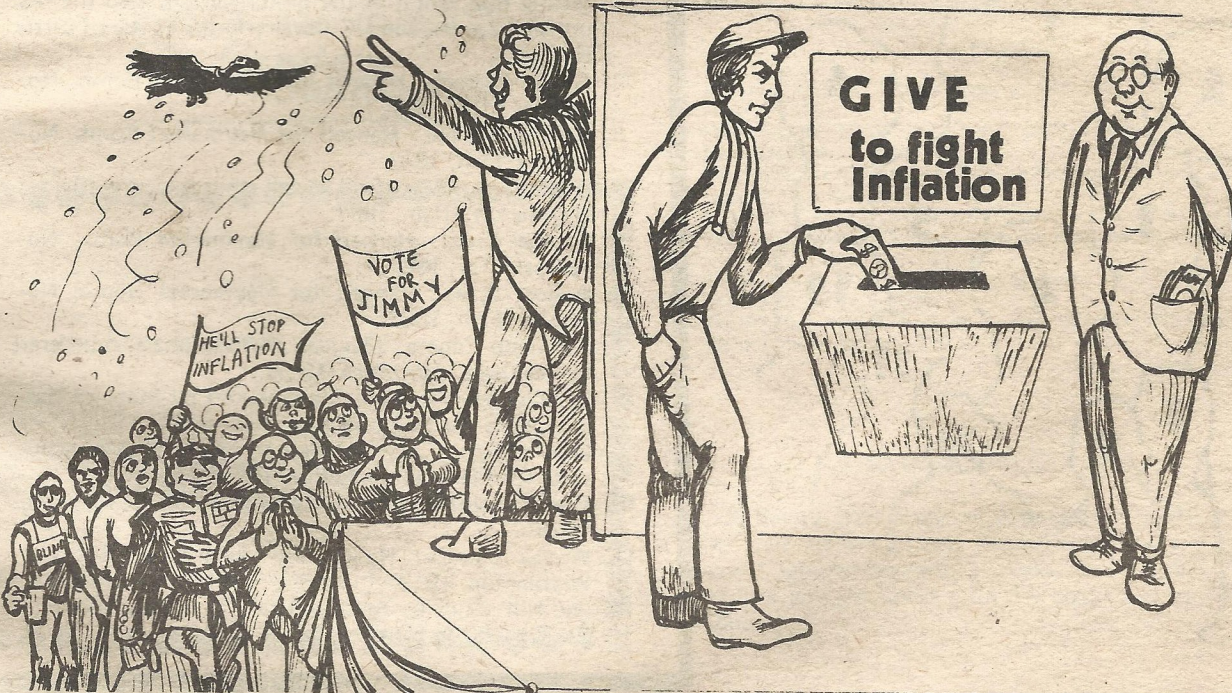
Contracts for both unions ran out in June of 1977. Eighteen months of mediation brought no agreement on issues of pay (the Government offered a 6% increase), cost of living (the Government refused to discuss any cost-of-living clause), or job security (the Government has announced plans to eliminate 8,000 post-office jobs over the next few years through speedup and automation).

First to strike was the NALC. It called out 4,000 of its members in nine cities in what was to have been the first

of a series of rolling strikes. Prime Minister Trudeau responded by threatening back-to-work legislation. Frightened, the NALC leadership called off the strike after two days. Shortly afterward, they signed a contract that Trudeau called "satisfactory".

On October 16th the members of the CUPW, having voted 78% in favor of a strike, walked out. Three days later, Parliament passed a back-to-work law, threatening strikers with \$100 a day in fines, CUPW officers with fines of \$2500 plus \$250 a day, and the CUPW itself with fines of \$1000 a day. The Government moved to obtain injunctions against picketing in several cities, including the CUPW strongholds of Vancouver, Toronto, and Montreal.

Jean-Claude Parrot, President of the CUPW, responded "You want to mail a letter? Just try it!" Unfortunately, his confidence was not justified. When a threat by Postmaster General Gilles Lamontagne to fire any postal worker still on strike as of October 27th was followed by raids by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (the famed "Mounties" were looking for evidence that the CUPW was breaking the back-to-work law), the CUPW Executive Board recommended that its members vote to return to work. By October 27th the strike was over. To add insult to injury, the issues of the strike were turned over to an arbitrator chosen by the Government alone.





Some wag a few years back referred to American television entertainment as a "wasteland". And from tuning in the boob tube occasionally over the years since that remark was made, your scribe is constantly dismayed at the creeping deforestation that is in process. To make sure that future generations do not fall victim to such un-American habits as thinking and culture, the disseminators of video vitamins have reserved Saturday mornings for the dear little tykes.

One columnist writing recently in the *Wall Street Urinal* had sat through a whole Saturday morning of kids' television programs, and referred to it as a cartoon-filled wasteland. True, the cartoons are quite dismal. They no longer have the artistry of the early comic-strip artists whose creations I used to pore over on a rainy day when I would be liberated from weeding the potato and frijole patch. Neither do they have the technical excellence of Walt Disney's sweatshop productions. Such, of course, is the result of production for immediate monetary gain. And since today's generation of little monsters never knew about Steamboat Willie, Krazy Kat, Felix the Cat, or Fip the Frog, how are they to know that there is anything better than the monotonous single-line banality that they see on their Saturday mornings?

Besides that, they are being well-groomed to take their places in the consumer society when their elders relinquish the mantle of adulthood to them. The aforementioned columnist from the *Wall Street Urinal* was dismayed at the advertising that was beamed at innocent little minds. It seems that his sensibilities have already been inured to the advertising that is beamed at innocent big minds. Besides the usual array of monstrous toys that seem to serve no other purpose than guaranteeing that parents never achieve a modicum of financial independence, they are first exhorted to consume all sorts of sugar-saturated junk food, and are then told what kind of toothpaste to use to prevent "yuck mouth".

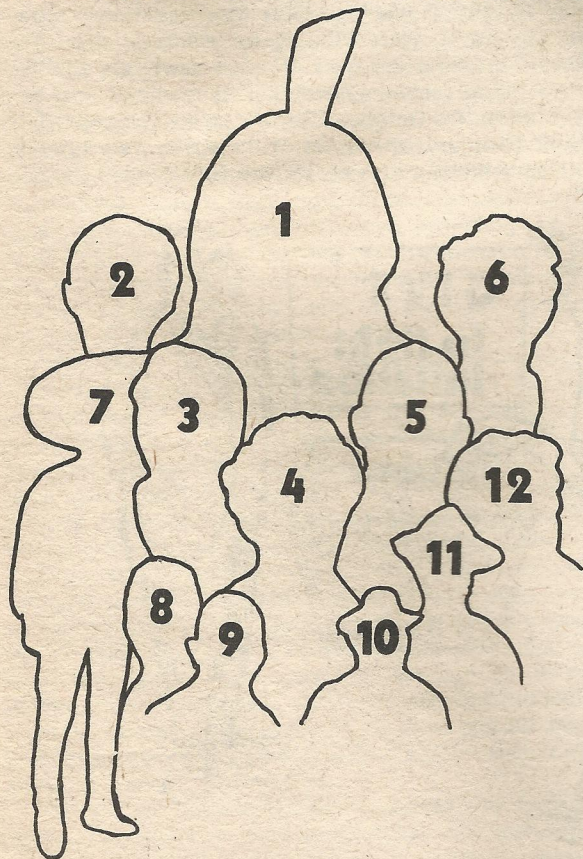
It is a symptomatic illustration of the alienation that takes place under modern capitalistic society, in which the family unit is further fragmented by placing the little monsters in front of the television set to get them out from underfoot. Modern capitalism has three stages in life for us, with an appropriate symbol for each one: the boob tube, the expressway, and finally the nursing-home cot.

President Peanut is still pushing his voluntary wage and price controls. The way we see it, the employing class will volunteer to control our wages, while prices will continue to control us. So what else is new?

C. C. Redcloud

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editorial:

THE NEW CORPORATIVISM

Since its foundation the IWW has been militantly critical of the class collaborationism of the trade unions. In this era of capitalist crisis such criticism is even more urgent, as the employers try desperately to force the working class to, as always, bear the burden and the sacrifices of this insane system.

While George Meany calls for mandatory wage and price controls, the so-called Communist and Socialist Parties of Europe, backed up by their respective union federations, negotiate "social pacts" and "historic compromises" with their cohorts in the halls of power. The Spanish have coined a new term for this phenomenon: New Corporativism.

The old corporativism, represented most forcefully by Fascism, held that the struggle between classes could be overcome by incorporating labor unions and employers' associations into "one big union", organized vertically and strictly controlled by the State. The new corporativism differs from the old in that it is being imposed on the working class not by terror, but by the normal democratic processes of liberal capitalism. It is being promoted by so-called workers' parties and trade unions who have entered into a Social Pact with the governments and employers' associations.

What does this "Social Pact" consist of? Well, the term was first coined by the Wilson Government in England in the late '60s, when, faced with increasing militancy on the part of workers who broke several national agreements with wildcat strikes, the British Government made an agreement with the TUC to hold down wage demands. Since then this "Social Pact" has been imitated throughout Europe. Generally speaking it means a ceiling on wage raises, a drive for increased production, and a willingness on the part of unions to accept layoffs.

In January Luciano Lama, leader of the Communist Party-controlled General Confederation of Italian Labor (CGIL), was interviewed by the daily newspaper *La Repubblica*. Lama affirmed that the "... union is proposing that the workers follow a policy of sacrifices..." and that workers would have to accept lower pay hikes, longer hours, and a cut in unemployment compensation, and would have to *produce more*. All of this, of course, in the name of fighting unemployment and inflation. However even as Lama spoke the unions were negotiating the layoff of 2,000 workers at the Unidal plant in Milan and another 1700 workers at a chemical plant in Porto Marghera. (1)

Last year the CP- and Socialist-controlled unions in Spain signed the Moncloa Pact, which put a ceiling on wage gains and gave the bosses the "right" to lay off up to 5% of their work force. For its co-operation the UGT got a loan, guaranteed by the Spanish Government, of \$5,000,000 from German banks (negotiated on their behalf by the German Social Democratic Party). (2) Now the reformist unions want to negotiate a new social pact, although they don't want to call it that. Marcelino Camacho, leader of the CP-dominated Workers' Commissions, has spoken of a three-or-four-year "... pact between all the forces, which implies... a political consensus, a plan of national solidarity against unemployment, a plan of public and private investment, and a *more pro-*

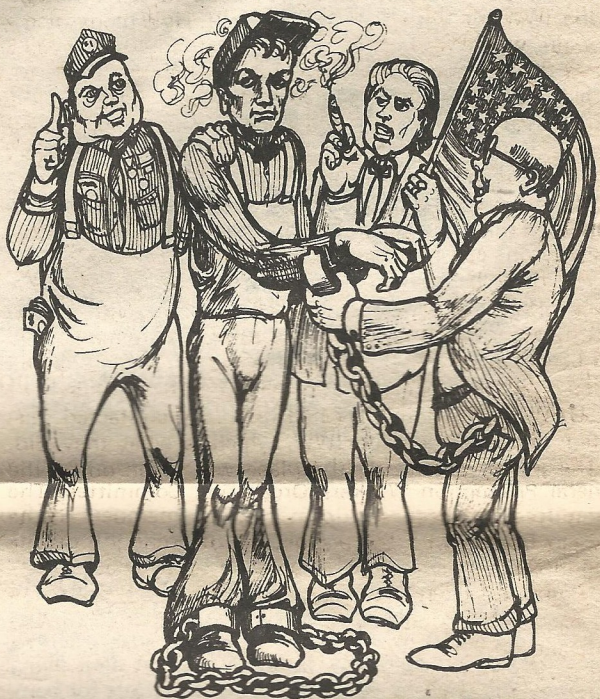
ductive labor." (3) What this means in practice is strike breaking, as in the gasoline-station attendants' strike in Barcelona, where the Workers' Commissions and UGT have been supplying strike breakers in hopes of smashing the CNT, which has 75% of the workers affiliated with it.

Back in the USA, labor and capital have been operating on the basis of an unofficial social pact for years. In the last couple of years, though, employers have been showing less inclination to abide by this "gentlemen's agreement", and union-busting enterprises have been flourishing. This has led some union bigwigs, such as Douglas Fraser of the UAW, to talk about a "one-sided class war" being waged against the workers and the poor. (It's a one-sided war only because the unions refuse to engage in such sordid stuff.) Yet such tough talk has not prevented Fraser and his ilk from echoing George Meany's call for *mandatory* wage and price controls. Not only is the social pact to become official; it's to be enforced by the bosses' government. So much for collective bargaining and "free" labor.

As it turns out, the New Corporativism is not so new after all. It's the old game of sellout, and we workers have to be on our guard lest we lose our shirts. How about trying a little revolutionary industrial unionism on for size?!

Mike Hargis

- (1) From *Self-Management Newsletter*, Volume 2, Number 2, Fall 1978.
- (2) From *News From Libertarian Spain*, Libertarian Press Service, Volume 2, Number 2, October 1978.
- (3) From *Solidaridad Obrera*, III Epoca, Number 29, October 5th, 1978.



An Injury to One is an Injury to All One Union One Label One Enemy



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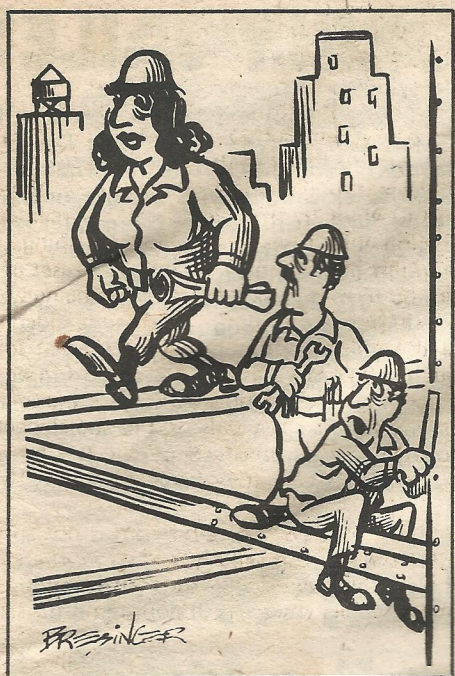
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CAN YOU NAME OUR ILLUSTRIOUS MARTYRS?

This graphic appeared on the cover of the November issue of the *Industrial Worker*. After the paper got back from the printer, the editorial staff realized that while all of us could name at least one of the faces, only one of us could name them all. How many do you know?

ANSWERS TO THE MARTYR PUZZLE

- 1. Sitting Bull, Chief of the Sioux Nation: Led the last uprising against the US Cavalry in the Battle of Little Big Horn.
- 2. Albert Parsons: Hanged for Haymarket Bomb, November 11th, 1887.
- 3. Adolph Fischer: Hanged for Haymarket Bomb, November 11th, 1887.
- 4. Louis Lingg: Murdered in cell while awaiting trial for Haymarket affair, 1887.
- 5. George Engel: Hanged for Haymarket Bomb, November 11th, 1887.
- 6. August Spies: Hanged for Haymarket Bomb, November 11th, 1887.
- 7. Emeliano Zapata: Mexican Revolutionary murdered by Mexican authorities, 1917.
- 8. Bartolomeo Vanzetti: Electrocutated by State of Massachusetts for being an Anarchist, 1927.
- 9. Nicola Sacco: Electrocutated by State of Massachusetts for being an Anarchist, 1927.
- 10. Frank Little: Hanged by vigilantes in Butte, Montana, 1916.
- 11. Wesley Everest: Hanged by vigilantes in Spokane, Washington, 1919.
- 12. Joe Hill: Shot by State of Utah for holdup and murder November 19th, 1915.



—PAI
"If you think women don't belong up here, you tell her!"

CELLAR BOOKSTORE JOB BRANCH DEMANDS RECOGNITION

Workers at the University of Michigan Cellar Bookstore in Ann Arbor are in the process of demanding union recognition. The 80-person work force there has a clear majority of the workers signed up in IWW Industrial Union 660.

Members of the bargaining committee met on Thursday, November 9th, to present the board of directors with a letter of recognition which they hoped they could persuade them to sign. The board, which is made up of students, faculty members, and administrators of the University of Michigan, declined to make any commitment. Instead they sought to stall by saying they would meet in executive session and get back with union members within the next two weeks.

There was a meeting of the membership on the following Tuesday. At that time they decided to meet with the managers and demand recognition. The managers declined to meet with them, saying that they refused to recognize the union. In a letter to the board and the managers of the store, workers set a deadline of November 29th for the board to recognize the union. They will settle only

for a stipulated election, since they have an overwhelming majority of union members working in the store, and an NLRB election could drag on as long as nine months.

The Cellar is unique in its structure. It was formed out of student demands in 1968, and is owned by the students themselves. However it is specifically defined as being separate from the University. This structure makes it difficult for workers at the Cellar to know for sure with whom they are dealing.

Among the contract demands the Cellar workers are planning are issues of self-management and a place on the board. Uniform wage scale for all the workers despite their seniority is also being discussed.

The managers of the Cellar will have no choice but to recognize the union once there is a stipulated election and it becomes clear to them that the union has a majority in the store. The IWW now has only to wait and provide whatever support and money is needed for the drive, and in time we can look forward to a contract at the U of M Cellar.

THE VIRDEN CAMPAIGN: A BALANCE SHEET

The drive to organize the Mid-America Machinery Company of Virden, Illinois has occupied the attention of the IWW for the last year and a half. How many members do we have in the shop? What are their goals? Where does the campaign stand now? These are the kinds of questions being asked by many Wobs. Now that the NLRB has upheld the IWW as collective-bargaining agent for the shop, what next? Well, the Company has filed an appeal of the NLRB's decision, so the final outcome is still up in the air. Perhaps now would be a good time to draw up a sort of balance sheet of the whole affair and see what lessons can be acquired for the future.

The drive began with a call for help in July of 1977. The workers at Mid-America were fed up with unsafe conditions, low wages, and their "asshole" foreman. They had been turned down by the UAW as too small, and had rejected the Teamsters as too corrupt. The president of the UAW local whom they had originally contacted suggested that they call the IWW, which is what they did.

The job of organizing the place was taken on by the General Production Workers Organizing Committee. The Committee had been set up in 1974 by members of the Chicago Branch with the perspective of doing job organizing in Chicago-area metal shops. However by July 1977 the Committee, while continuing to meet, was floundering. Nevertheless they agreed to give the Virden thing a shot, and on July 23rd members of the Committee traveled to Virden to meet with workers from the shop. They explained the philosophy and program of the IWW and the state of the organization's resources, and succeeded in signing up a majority of the seven shop employees (four out of seven plus James D'Aunoy, whose firing earlier that month had been the spark that ignited the desire for organization).

With a majority of the shop workers in the Union, it was felt that recognition would be a simple matter: Either the employer would voluntarily recognize the Union's majority status, or the NLRB would order that the employer do so and begin to bargain with the Union. Well, things didn't turn out to be so easy. On Monday morning, when they returned to work, the Union members were subjected to harassment and intimidation. We couldn't believe that the employer could be so stupid. The next day Union members were locked out. Union representatives presented the boss with a letter for voluntary recognition, which he refused to sign. The following day the Union filed for an election and filed unfair-labor-practice charges against the Company. At this point the Committee made the decision to go for a directed bargaining order rather than an election, which could have been expedited had the Union put up a picket line in response to the lockout. Later the Committee agreed that this was probably its greatest mistake. It allowed the employer to play a waiting game, whittling away the Union's majority.

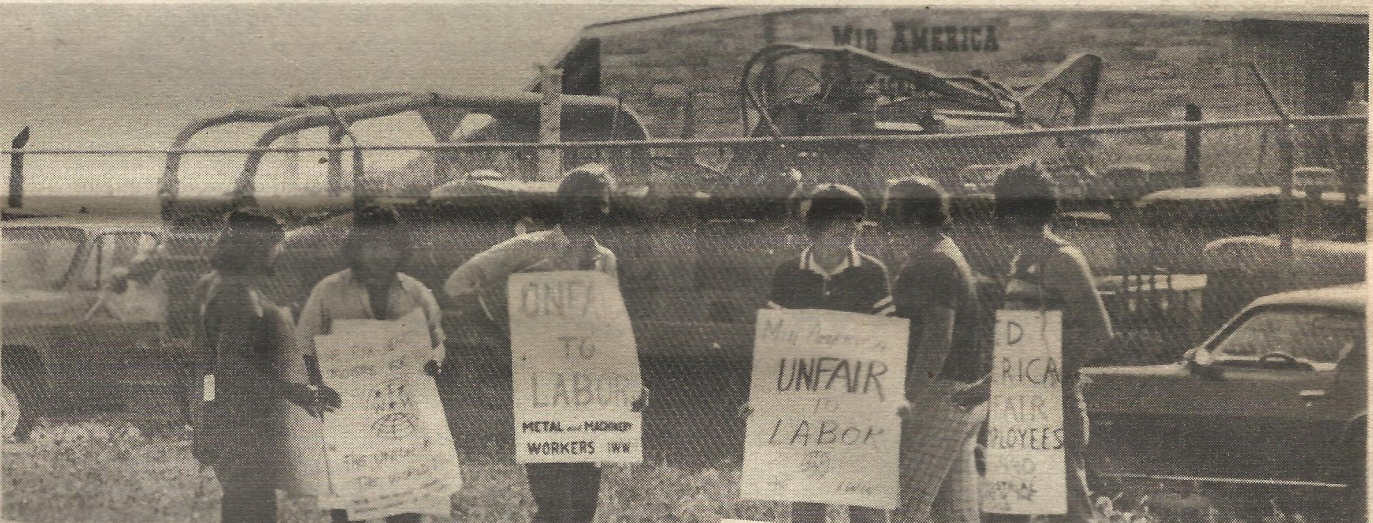
Shortly after the drive began, Ken Gyorkos left the shop to go back to work in the mines around Virden. A few months later Rick Wehlitz, one of the most militant members in the shop, was fired, allegedly for poor work. Later still another Union member, Bob Imhoff, quit in order to get a better-paying job. So over a period of several months, while the unfair-labor-practice charges were being heard by the courts and flying pickets confronted the Company at machinery auctions, the Union's majority was wiped out. By the time the court came down with the directed bargaining order, the Union did not have the economic muscle to enforce it, and the boss knew it. The appeal was almost automatic. By June 12th Bob Swaggerty, the only Union member left in the shop, was tired of waiting and decided to go for broke.

The strike was a last-gasp attempt at short-circuiting the Company's stalling strategy. It was felt that if the Union could prevent the Company from moving into its

new plant, which it was about to begin building, it would be hurt enough economically to be willing to come to terms with the Union. Events, however, did not confirm this strategy. At first it appeared that perhaps the strike would have the desired effect. Structural Iron Workers Union members honored the picket lines, peopled for the most part by Chicago Branch members, for about a week, but then were ordered by their business agent to go to work. Other building-trades unions followed suit, arguing that they would be in violation of their contracts with the construction contractor if they didn't cross the line. One IBEW member even said that he was not obligated to honor our lines because we were not affiliated with the

shops are usually marginal economically and less able to "afford" a union. This can explain the often virulent anti-union attitudes of the owners of such shops. In the case of Mid-America it would have been cheaper in the short run for the employer to settle with the Union; but for owner Larry Jabusch, his right to do with his property as he saw fit took precedence over economic considerations.

Another consideration with regard to the size of the shop is time. In a small shop where one or two workers can make the difference between having a majority or a minority, time becomes crucial. The longer the drive lasts,



AFL-CIO. So much for solidarity. Red-baiting also had its effect. One Teamster driver in particular claimed that he could not sleep at night if he honored the picket line of communists.

By mid-August it was becoming clear that the strike was not hurting the Company sufficiently to force it to come to the bargaining table. The Union was having an increasingly difficult time mobilizing pickets and maintaining an effective line. Morale was sagging, and interpersonal hassles began to arise. An attempt to open up lines of communication with the employer resulted in nothing. In early September the Committee advised Swaggerty to offer to go back to work unconditionally. (In an unfair-labor-practice strike, such as this was, the employer is not allowed to hire permanent replacements for strikers, and is required by law to take back those who offer to return to work. If the Company refuses, this constitutes an unfair labor practice, and if this charge is found to have merit the affected worker is then eligible to collect back pay from the day he or she offered to return to work. The worker is also able to collect unemployment compensation.)

As expected, Swaggerty was refused rehiring, and an unfair-labor-practice charge was filed in his behalf. On September 27th the NLRB in Washington handed down its decision upholding the lower court's ruling in favor of the IWW. As of now the situation is this: The Union has a directed bargaining order from the NLRB which is being appealed by the Company and which the Union does not have the economic power to enforce. There are also several civil court cases pending against the Union.

What can be learned from this experience? First, I think we have to re-examine the widespread belief that small shops, such as the one in Virden, are ideal for IWW organizing efforts. While it is certainly true that such shops are unorganized and that the trade unions, for the most part, will not touch them because they are not "profitable", it is also very true that such shops may prove to be more difficult to organize than relatively larger enterprises (of say 50 to 100 workers). Smaller

the better the chances are that the Union's majority can be wiped out by turnover. This is what happened in Virden. By failing to go for a quick election while we had a majority, we allowed ourselves to get caught in the bureaucratic maze of the NLRB. At the time, however, we were unsure of the Union's capability to sustain a strike. This hesitation, at a crucial moment, proved to be our undoing.

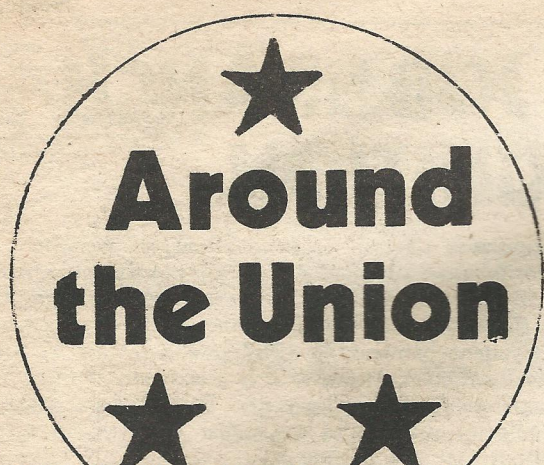
Other important lessons to be learned are: (1) Build a support base in the community. The distance between Chicago (the organizing base) and Virden prevented the Committee from using all available human talents and resources. (2) Do a good public-relations job. This can undercut red-baiting. (3) Be sure to educate pickets. They have to know what the struggle is about and how to handle themselves in confrontations. This, of course, is not an exhaustive list of things to do, but merely some of the more important ones.

The Virden campaign also resulted in some important areas of growth for those who took part in it. Participants in the drive gained some of the sophistication and experience they had lacked and became aware of the need for educating the membership. Everyone became aware of the extent of the resources (or lack thereof) that the IWW has to offer.

We also learned how to work with each other over a sustained project lasting nearly a year and a half. Talents of diverse kinds, of people with conflicting philosophies, were used without precipitating too many ideological battles. Women participants learned to be more assertive and were able to take charge in potentially violent situations like the picket line. Everyone gained an understanding of this variety of power struggle, and some gained a new perspective on violence.

Perhaps the most important lesson learned is that the ideas of the IWW, of militant, revolutionary industrial unionism, are not as alien to workers as we sometimes may think. All we have to do is present our ideas to our fellow workers and be willing to back up our words with deeds.

Mike Hargis



SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA: Members of GDC Local 5 participated in a masked Anti Anti-Terrorist Squad picket in front of the British Airways office. The picketers protested the arrest of FW Iris Mills and her five co-prisoners by the Squad in England. The Wobs carried a "Free All Class-War Prisoners" banner.

BOSTON: The Boston Branch held a public educational devoted to "Revolutionary Industrial Unionism: What It Is".

CHICAGO: The Chicago Branch held a benefit Halloween party and made \$85. The number of children present was a pleasant surprise. Members of the Branch also participated in the November 11th memorial gathering held at Forest Home (Waldheim) Cemetery in honor of the class-war dead. FW Fred Thompson was one of the main speakers, and FWs Kathy Taylor and Leslie Fish led the singing. Flowers were placed on the monument to the Haymarket martyrs and on Emma Goldman's grave.

DETROIT/ANN ARBOR: FWs Mike Johnston and Eric Glatz taped a lengthy radio interview on the IWW's role in community organizing. No word on when it will be aired.

LEEDS, ENGLAND: The British IWW is publishing FW Shelby Shapiro's pamphlet on "Unions and Racism". This will be the first pamphlet published by the IWW in Britain.

NEW YORK: The New York Organizing Committee of the IWW held a discussion, led by Sam Dolgoff, on "The Forerunners of the IWW".

WAIPAHU, HAWAII: Members of the IWW helped put on a benefit luau in support of the patients of Hale Mohalu. The State Government allowed the institution to run down, and is now using that as an excuse to take over 11 acres of its property.

(The "Around the Union" column has changed hands from Rita Bakunin to Penny Pixler. The usual plea still stands: If you are doing anything you want to share with your fellow workers, please send word of it to the HQ and I'll put it in this column.)

Organizers Confer

IWW organizers from Chicago; Ann Arbor, Michigan; Arkadelphia, Arkansas; Gainesville, Florida; and New York City met November 4th and 5th for a conference that marked the first step in the process of forming an organizing committee which hopes to carry its organizing efforts to all parts of the country.

The committee is a plan that came out of a resolution proposed at the 1978 Convention by FWs Susan Fabrick and Dan Pless. The motivation for the committee came out of the isolation that organizers feel when they are the only IWW members in a certain location, or even when small branches and groups feel that their organizing drives are not receiving support from outside their area.

The conferees dealt with past organizing drives that they had been part of. These were analyzed in terms of their successes and failures given the resources and support available to organizers. This method of analyzing our efforts made it clearer to those present what the patterns of failure are in an unsuccessful drive, as well as what to look for and work toward in a successful drive.

Throughout this process we kept in mind the basic steps of a drive: organization, recognition, negotiation, contract, and enforcement. Participants discussed the ways in which the drives they had been active in had come to each of these steps, and how this could have been done differently and better.

Committee members met with some of the Ann Arbor fellow workers who are currently seeking recognition at the U of M Cellar. They offered their help and experience in dealing with the situation there. A group of five members of the Chicago Branch offered to meet with the U of M Cellar group in Ann Arbor November 10th and 11th to give a training seminar on organizing.

The Chicago fellow workers were well received in Ann Arbor, and the members there were patient as the group struggled to work out the kinks in their presentation. Members of the committee are hoping for opportunities to take this training seminar elsewhere.

A follow-up conference during the last week of January or the first week of February is being planned for Memphis, Tennessee. Details will be available in future issues of the *Industrial Worker*. IWW members around the country are encouraged to attend this conference.

WOBBLY JAILED

Fellow Worker Iris Mills and five co-dissidents (Ronan Bennet, Stewart Carr, Dafydd Lad, Trevor Dawton, and Vince Stevenson), have been arrested in Britain for conspiracy to cause explosions with persons unknown at times and places unknown. Further charges, for which no evidence has been presented, include robbery and possession of guns and ammunition without a license. No trial is likely before 1979. Bail was refused for the six because "They are members of a group of idealistic persons who would take positive steps to overthrow society."

FW Mills and her co-prisoners need international support. The first step in showing solidarity is to organize demonstrations and picket lines wherever the British Government has its representatives. For further information write to Persons Unknown, Box 123, 182 Upper Street, London N1, UK.

Iran General Strike (cont.)

the Iranian Oil Participants Ltd. consortium, which includes British Petroleum, the Royal Dutch/Shell Group, Exxon, Gulf Oil, Mobil, Texaco, Standard Oil, Cie. Francaise des Petroles, and the Iricon Group. Proceeds from this oil have gone to the Government, which is notoriously corrupt, and to the transnationals, which are notoriously profit-hungry and which have a vested interest in retaining control of Iran's crude-oil production so they can process it further down the line.

Meanwhile, as "modernization" has proceeded, three out of five rural families have become landless and millions of agricultural workers have migrated to the cities. Most of these remain unemployed, forming a large pool of cheap and desperate labor. Agricultural production has dropped to the point that a once self-sufficient food-exporting nation must now import food. Wage labor is still relatively new to Iran and cannot absorb the influx of those who have been forced to leave traditional village life.

Within the context of the Middle East, and particularly considering the influence of the Shi'ite sect in Iran, it is not surprising that political issues should be expressed through a religious mode. Historically the Shi'ite sect has attracted those who oppose the ruling regime, since it places value on democracy rather than the autocracy of the Sunni sect prevalent in Saudi Arabia. Thus the picture presented to us by the news media of irrational religious fanaticism is less than accurate.

A GUIDE TO COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

PART IV. UNION SECURITY

A bargaining unit that includes all the employees essential to the operation of the workplace, and a full union shop are absolutely necessary to maintain the union's strength on the job. Without these basic conditions no union will be able to protect effectively the rest of its contract benefits.

Definition of Bargaining Unit

If an employer recognizes and bargains with a union without an NLRB election, the parties to the agreement may define the bargaining unit as they wish. If an NLRB election is held, certain legal restrictions apply. (See *Organizing and the Federal Law*, Page 1.) The bargaining unit defined below meets NLRB requirements. Do not include such phrases as "for employees in the classifications listed in this agreement", because the employer may try to exclude certain employees by changing their job titles or introducing machines that necessitate new job classifications. "All employees" should take care of future changes in the workplace and workforce.

Management will want to define enough people out of the unit to maintain normal work in the event of a strike. Who are supervisors and who are confidential employees? According to the NLRB, exempt supervisors must have the power to hire and fire or effectively recommend hiring and firing. An employee who organizes and directs the work of him/herself and several other employees is not necessarily an exempt supervisor. Confidential employees are those who have direct access to labor-relations information, like the secretary to the person who bargains with the union. Employees having access to information about production or profits are not confidential employees. We suggest this article:

RECOGNITION

The Employer agrees to recognize the Union as the exclusive bargaining agent for all employees, excluding supervisors, confidential employees, and guards, as defined in the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947.

In Seattle recently the management of City Light boasted that if it had not been for its loyal supervisory personnel, not members of the union, it would not have

been able to hold out for months against a strike of the union utility workers. One of the constant running battles between the union and the employer will always be the employer's attempt to get more and more key people out of the bargaining unit and thus weaken its effectiveness in a strike. Be prepared for the employer to try to nibble away at union jobs during each series of negotiations, and consider the long-term effect of these exemptions before granting them in return for something the union wants.

Union Shop

A union shop is one in which the employer may hire people who are not members of the union, but they must become and remain members shortly after going to work, usually within thirty days. The union shop has been the focal point of the employers' attack against Labor, and it is the real measure of an employer's determination to destroy a union. The largest sustained national drive against Labor in recent years has been the employers' attempt to secure passage of "right-to-work" laws by the states. Such laws outlaw union-shop agreements, even though an employer might want to sign such an agreement. "Right-to-work" laws, in effect, establish a compulsory open shop, and they have greatly weakened all unions in "right-to-work" states. So employers are unanimous in their opinion that a union shop strengthens a union.

Union people themselves recognize that a union shop may encourage poor unionism by removing the incentive for unions to win and hold the allegiance of workers voluntarily. Since the agreement compels all new employees to join, some unions are content simply to hold them captives rather than helping them to understand how the union benefits them, sharing with them the responsibility and decision making, and converting them into firm union supporters.

But capable, honest representation does not automatically induce people to join the union. By law, a union must bargain for all employees in the bargaining unit, and they must receive all the benefits of the union contract. Suppose a union wins an election 60 to 40, but fails to secure a union shop. Then 20 of the 60 who support the union begin asking themselves: "Why should I pay dues if those 40 freeloaders don't have to?" Soon the union ratio is reversed: 40 to 60. Some people will always take something for nothing if they can. Would voluntary pay-

ment for groceries in a food co-op work? An open shop invites a never-ending battle to keep the union majority intact, and it gives the employer an inducement to deliberately seek people with anti-union attitudes when hiring new employees. A full union shop is basic to a strong union on the job.

An *agency shop* provides that employees do not need to join the union, but if they elect not to join they must pay the union the equivalent of the union's fees for support of the bargaining agent. While an agency shop prevents financial freeloading, it is not as good as a union shop because it establishes an identifiable anti-union group within the workplace who, presumably, don't want the union. Non-union workers under an agency shop would be more likely to scab than if they were members.

We recommend:

UNION SECURITY

Section 1: All employees covered by this agreement shall, as a condition of employment, thirty-one days from the effective date of this agreement become and remain members of the Union in good standing.

Section 2: New employees hired subsequent to the effective date of this agreement shall, as a condition of employment, thirty-one days from the date of employment become and remain members of the Union in good standing.

No Dues Checkoff

Many unions negotiate a provision that members may sign cards authorizing the employer to deduct dues from their paychecks. Signing the card is voluntary, and the member may revoke the authorization anytime by written notice. Those unions favor the checkoff because it saves work receipting dues and keeps members from becoming delinquent. The IWW Constitution forbids members to negotiate a dues checkoff because the checkoff tends to break the direct relationship between the union and members. The increased efficiency does not offset the loss of personal contact between members and the union. Try instead to negotiate working time for stewards to collect dues.

ABC's Of Union Busting INSIDE AN ANTI-UNION SEMINAR



(LNS) "We're non-union. We like it that way. We intend to keep it that way. That's how you should state your position," instructs the confident lawyer in the crisp brown three-piece suit.

The scene is a North Brunswick, New Jersey hotel September 27th. The New York law firm of Jackson, Lewis, Schnitzler, and Krupman is running a seminar for health-care employers on how to fight unions.

The "students" are 50 administrators from the New Jersey Association of Health Care Facilities—almost all of them middle-aged white men—and me.

Before the day is over I will have heard and recorded on my tape recorder this advice from Jackson, Lewis lawyers:

- Stall and delay when workers request a representation election. "Time is on the side of the employer," points out the instructor.

- Fire workers who might be receptive to unionization. Administrators are told repeatedly "fire them", "weed them out", "get rid of them", and, for the delicate boss, "maybe they'd be happier someplace else".

- Exclude workers, especially nurses, from the union bargaining unit by pretending they're supervisors.

- "Stack the deck" when a representation election approaches. The trick is "Hire new people."

An ugly thread that runs through the day-long meeting is perhaps best expressed by the lawyer who advises:

"Weed 'em out. Get rid of anyone who's not going to be a team player. And don't wait eight or nine months. I'd like to have a dollar for every time there's union organizing and the employer says 'I should have gotten rid of that bastard three months ago.'"

The theme is repeated with another warning:

"Let's go back and audit your employees right now. Think for a moment who are the people who are going to be most vulnerable if the union knocks on your door. Are those people really meant for us? Maybe they'd be more happy someplace else."

Union-Busting Goons in Three-Piece Suits

The meeting's tone throughout is slick and sophisticated. It's an example of a phenomenon that is growing by leaps and bounds—law firms and consultants who collect a handsome living by selling expert advice on how to keep the union out, or, if the union is already in, how to combat it and possibly get rid of it. Gone are the not-so-good old days of blackjacks and machine guns in the brutal strikes at Ludlow, Homestead, or Harlan County. Enter the slick smiling lawyer, armed with the latest strategies to subvert workers' legal rights to collective bargaining.

The union-busting law firm is the vanguard of a growing army of organizations whose goal is to weaken and destroy the labor movement. The National Association of Manufacturers' Council on a Union-Free Environment; the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress; the National Right To Work Committee—these are just a few of the groups now able to raise millions of dollars to turn back the clock on progress.

They oppose occupational health and safety regulations. They are against equal rights for minorities and women. They muster their forces to fight national health insurance, welfare programs, and tax equity. And their impact has already been felt in the recent defeat of the labor-law-reform bill and other labor-backed legislation, in the declining rate of union-representation victories, and in a sharp rise in decertification elections.

My day at the conference starts as I step from the bright September morning into a cool dark lobby where a cheerful hostess signs me up for the seminar entitled "Update: Labor Relations". In the conference room, the 50 "students" sit side-by-side at long tables. Two well-dressed men stand at the head of the room, radiating confidence and high spirits. They are attorneys Arthur Kaufman and Patrick Vaccaro of the Jackson, Lewis firm.

As the administrators roll up their sleeves, get out their note pads, and thumb through the large packet of material handed out to them, I chat briefly with the gray-haired woman on my right, trying to display a nonchalance I do not feel. So far, no one suspects that I do not belong in this seminar charged with anti-union sentiment.

Facing the lawyers, the seminar participants drop their customary attitudes of authority and become docile novices learning the ABCs of union-busting.



Papering Over Grievances

The "plague" of organizing among registered nurses is a major item on the agenda of today's seminar. Vaccaro lists the reasons for the mounting dissatisfaction among RNs by reading straight from an article in the July-August issue of 1199 News. But his recommended strategy is not to examine the sources of discontent. It is to eliminate as many RNs as possible from the bargaining unit by setting them up with supervisory powers.

"You know the old story about all chiefs and no Indians," he says. "If you can show that staff RNs hire, terminate, and discipline, you will go a long way toward defeating the union."

"But don't wait until the union's knocking at your door," Vaccaro warns. "Structure it now. A warning, a transfer, a layoff... make up a form and have the person sign as nursing supervisor. Paper impresses the Government more than anything else."

The conference adjourns for the traditional chicken-a-la-king lunch, and I seat myself between an owner of two nursing homes and a heavy-set bearded administrator. "We run two of the finest homes in the state," comments one as he butters a roll. "We don't need a union telling us how to run our home."



"1199 is the worst of them," says the administrator on my left as he takes a mouthful of the diet-fish lunch he ordered beforehand. "Not if you know how to deal with them," breaks in an attorney across the table excitedly. "They know me. Of course I prefer a gentlemanly arrangement, but I can fight dirty if I have to. They don't tangle with me," he boasts.

Staying Within the Law

Next on the agenda is filling out the worksheets with the Jackson, Lewis copyright. The purpose of these exercises is clear: Stay within the letter of the law. If you know the ropes, there is much that can be done to block an organizing drive while avoiding the most blatant labor violations.

The workshop material contains hypothetical incidents: "There were several people distributing handbills, with authorization cards attached, to our employees as they came to work this morning," reads one. "They are asking the employees to join a union. What do I do now, and what do I do if they come back again?"

A series of 28 statements to workers is also provided. Students are to circle "legal" or "illegal". "With this union, we're going to have a strike," Vaccaro reads. "That's illegal—it constitutes a threat." But you can make a similar impression, he says, by stating "If the union calls you out on an economic strike, management has the right to stop paying you insurance premiums."

During the afternoon, 20 people split off to attend a session led by Kaufman on how to negotiate a contract favorable to management. I stay with Vaccaro and "Maintaining Non-Union Status". I insert a fresh tape in my cassette recorder—so far, so good. I have been taping openly with no objections. But I push my luck too far.

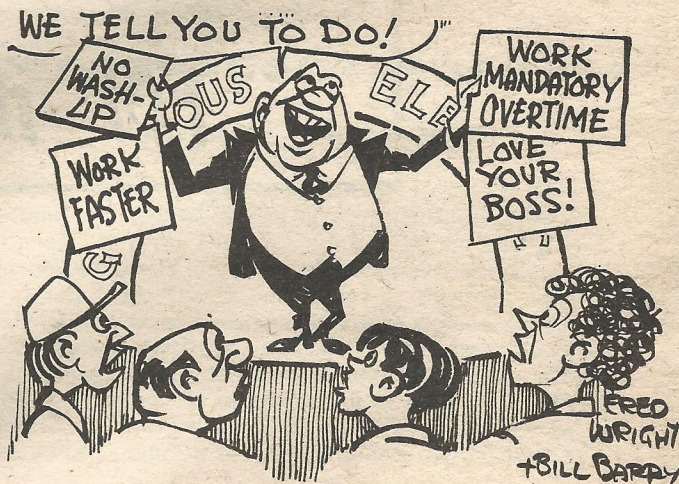
When I approach Vaccaro to ask permission to photograph him, he refuses. The self-confident smile leaves his face, and he leaves the room. When he returns, he is followed by the seminar's tall gray-haired host. "I'll have to ask you to hand over your tapes," he whispers. "The lawyers don't want any recordings of this seminar."

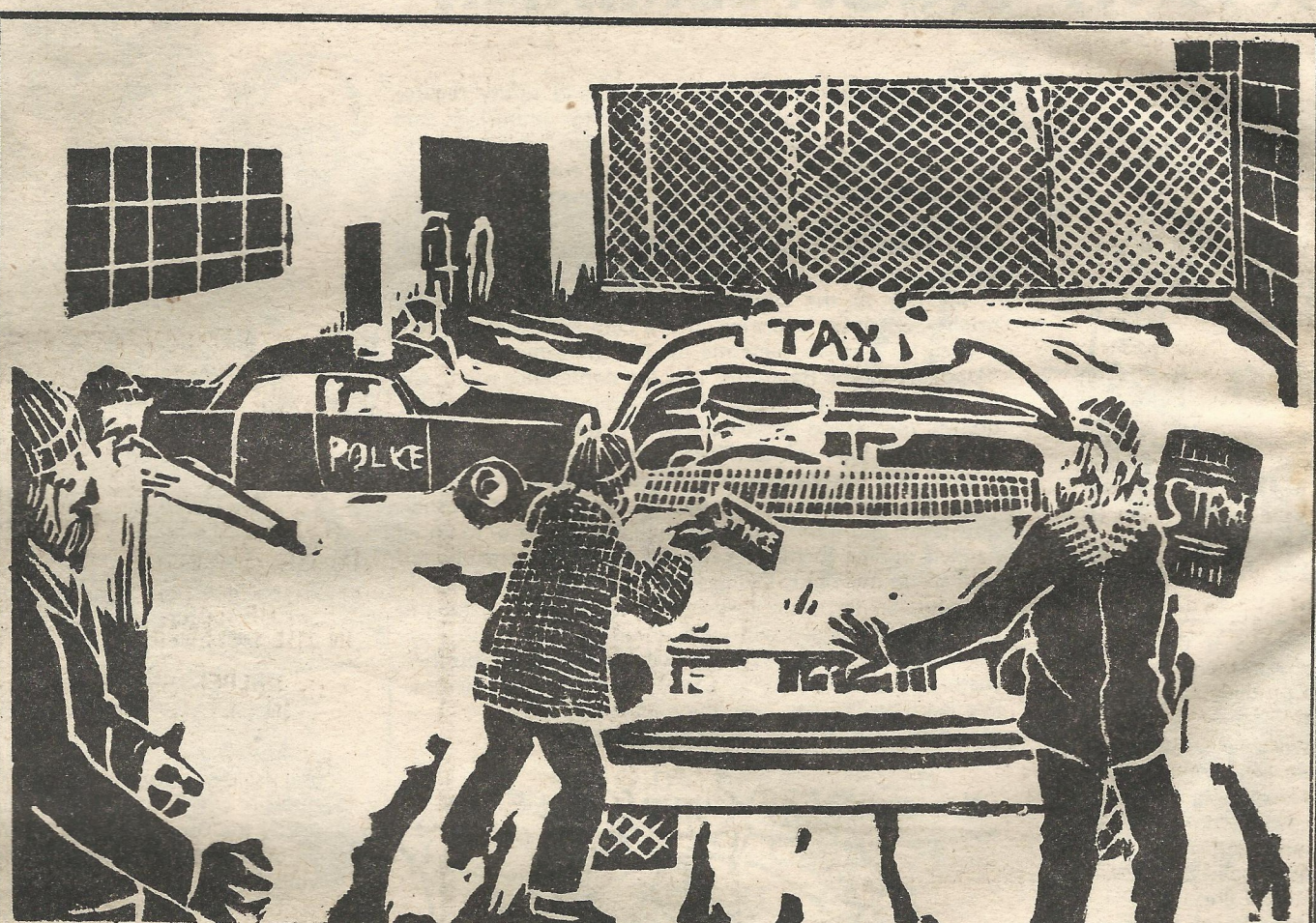
I hand him the empty one and discreetly hide the others after he leaves the room. I glance at Vaccaro—his smooth joviality has been replaced by a tense watchfulness that stays with him until the end of the seminar.

As we leave, the conference host stops me on the way to the parking lot and apologizes for taking my tape. "You have to understand," he confides. "There could be a union spy here."

I adopt an expression of outrage, and take the paper he hands me. It is an "Update: Labor Relations" seminar diploma.

Nancy Steifel





*For the bloody dollar we workers
put our lives on the line in wage
wars. We should organize right
in industrial democracy. We'll be
on the line regardless. x330675*



Industrial Workers of the World

Twin City Group

For industrial unionism

Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.



DOOMSAYERS

Seen in Washington DC last month: a robed man carrying a sign reading "Doomsayers Local 184 On Strike"

FOR
Universal
WORKERS
CONTROL
& Management
Of Industry
Minnie F. Corder
Card X 324726

THERE ARE SO MANY WAITING
TO SEE WHAT WE WILL DO
"IF I SEE SOMETHING HAPPENING
THEN MAYBE I'LL JOIN TOO"
YOU'RE THE ONE TO MAKE THINGS HAPPEN,
WE CAN'T DO IT WITHOUT YOU -
BUT ALL OF US TOGETHER
CAN BUILD THE OBU!

FROM SAN DIEGO



GREETINGS TO NICK DI GAETANO,
MY FRIEND AND TEACHER IN THE PRINCIPLES OF
REVOLUTIONARY INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM
AND TO HIS WIFE SOPHIE.

NICK PIONEERED IN ORGANIZING
ITALIAN-SPEAKING WORKERS IN DETROIT
INTO THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

HE WAS A FOREMOST SPEAKER
IN THE DEFENSE OF SACCO AND VANZETTI.

HE HELPED ORGANIZE AUTO WORKERS
IN DETROIT IN THE EARLY 1930s.

HE USED HIS PRESS TO PRINT LEAFLETS
FOR IWW INDUSTRIAL UNION 440.

NICK BECAME EDITOR OF THE
CHRYSLER LOCAL 7 UNION PAPER.

HE COLLECTED AND BOUND PAPERS
FROM AUTO WORKERS' UNIONS ALL OVER THE US
AND DONATED HIS VALUABLE COLLECTION
TO THE LABOR HISTORY ARCHIVES
OF WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY
WHEN HE RETIRED.

WITH AFFECTION AND FELLOWSHIP
FROM LOUIS BURCAR.

(render unto caesar)

On October 4th the IRS summarized the income-tax reports it had received for 1977. It said 85.3 million people had filed federal income-tax returns, reporting a total adjusted gross income of \$1.13 trillion on which they paid the Federal Government \$154.5 billion in taxes. Of these 85 million, 42 million said they made less than \$10,000 and sent in \$9.2 billion with their returns. The 14.1 million who reported incomes between \$10,000 and \$15,000 contributed \$16.5 billion in taxes. The 27.7 million reporting between \$15,000 and \$50,000 paid federal taxes of \$93.2 billion.

Federal income taxes amount to only about a third of the total derived from state, local, and federal taxes. Between these and large incomes on which no tax whatever is collected, and the sales, excise, and payroll taxes that hit mainly wage workers, the higher federal tax rate on big incomes is about wiped out. Arithmetically total taxes hit all income groups almost evenly, the extremely poor and the extremely rich paying the smallest percentage. The figure for average income one gets by dividing the total reported income by the number of taxpayers comes to \$13,263, yet the average wage in the US in 1977 was only \$7,019. (The average wage by state ranged from a Mississippi low of \$5,030 to an Alaska high of \$10,586.) In the long run the only people who can pay for anything are those who produce something.

FREE TRADE UNION FORMED

Two free trade unions have been formed in Poland, a country where the official labor movement is under government control. The first, formed in the coal-mining district of Silesia, grew out of the wildcat strikes in that area last year. The second, based in the port cities of Gdynia and Gdansk, where the 1970 strike wave began, has issued a declaration calling for free trade unionism, "a change to true democracy", and accusing the official unions of being "an obedient tool of organized exploitation of the whole nation". This second union grew out of the group publishing the underground magazine *Robotnik*.

SOLIDARITY



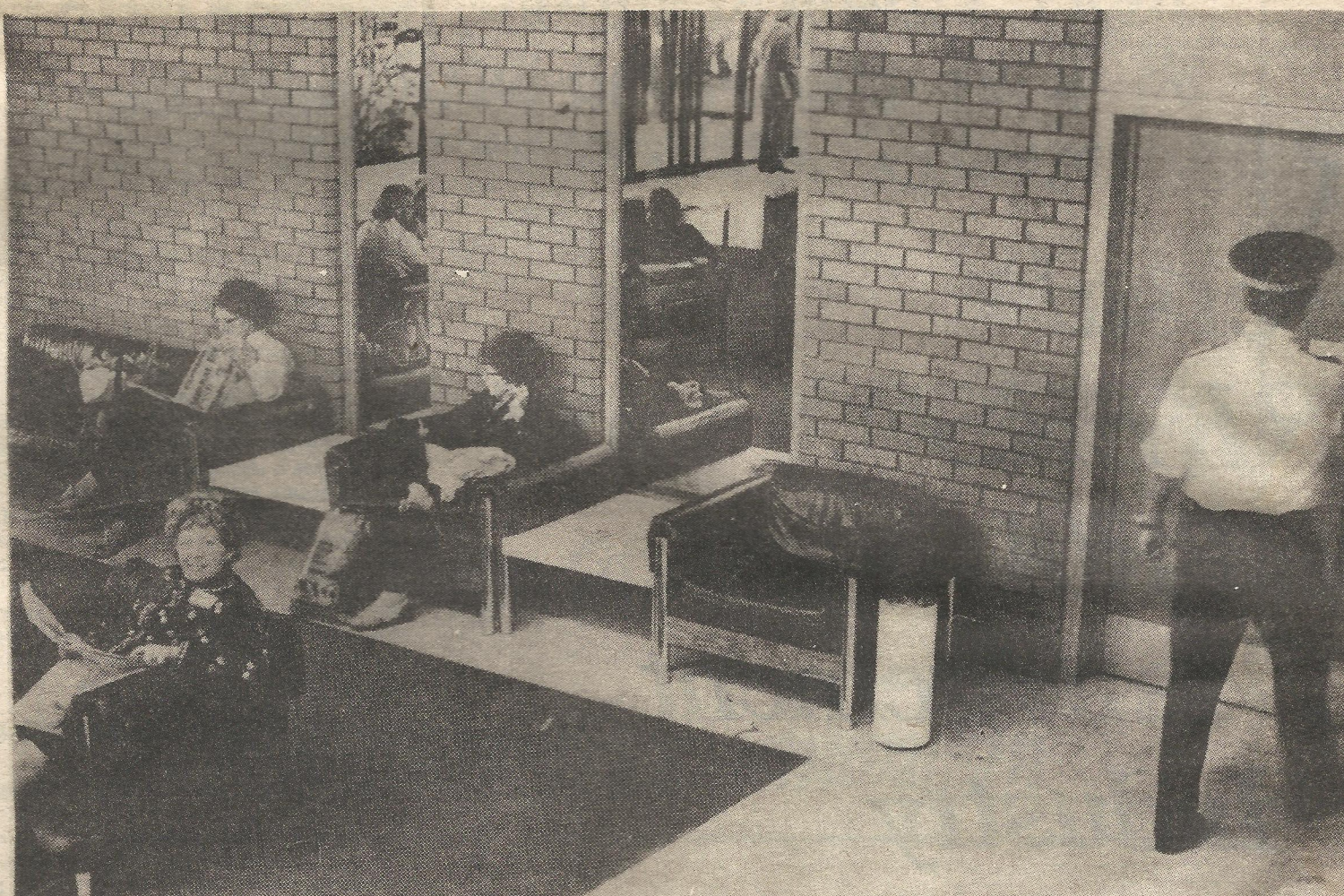
Greetings

FROM THE

BOSTON G.M.B.



In Memorium
RICK BELISLE
1951 - 1978



A vantage point on the British labor movement. The policeman at the left of this photograph is entering a hidden spy room in the Brighton Conference Center, where the 1978 Conference of the British Trade Union Council was held last summer. The mirrors in the center of the

photo are of a special "two-way" glass which allows the police to keep the Conference Center under surveillance. Besides the Trade Union Council Conference, police have spied on two civil-service union conventions, NALGO and CPSA. (Socialist Worker photo)

sound of a distant drum

It is a sad quirk of human nature that one takes a vicarious pleasure at the sight of a friend falling flat on his face into a heap of shit. Heaven forfend that the British working class should be guilty of indulging in this display of noir humor, for we the simple yeomanry of the sea-girded island are known for our sensitivity and our care and concern for the master races that bomb us or buy us. We are a simple people, and for too many a long economic year we have had to endure the political dictates of what goes into our weekly pay packet. And every yearly effort to force the employers to increase that weekly wage to catch up with world inflation prices has been countered by a slimy smiling employer weeping onto our collective shoulder and telling us that he the employer would like nothing more than to empty the entire contents of his bulging till into our slim wage packets, but the Government will not let him, for it would break the Government's Phase 1, 2, 3, 4 yearly pay code.

This year Prime Minister Callaghan has fixed a ceiling of no more than a national 5% pay raise, and despite the Ford strike the Queen's speech (written for her by the political party in office) outlined the year's political program with a hard-line endorsement of Sunny Jim's pay policy. In Britain all the major pay settlements are fought out in the early winter months, and once Christmas is over a government knows it should have an easy summer of non-violent industrial peace. So what with the British middle class 100% for the working-class 5% and all the major union top brass tucked away safely for the summer, the political party in office is riding free, wide, and handsome into an autumn election.

For over six weeks 57,000 Ford workers have been out on a solid unbroken strike, for they refuse to accept the Ford Government-backed 5% pay deal. The Ford Company in Detroit are willing to break the British Government's 5% pay ceiling, and the British Government know that the American Motown capitalists are too strong to tangle with. For the sake of political peace Detroit left the running to its native-born administration, even to the extent of Henry Ford publicly refusing to visit his old granddaddy's colonial factory while the pickets are on guard.

So we have this Machiavellian situation of the Detroit Ford godfathers ready to do a deal with the British workers, but not wishing to upset Her Majesty's Social Democratic Government; Moss Evans, the newly-elected boss of the massive Transport and General Workers Union, desperately trying to win his first major union battle; and Callaghan and Healey, the politicians, seeking to endorse the Ford workers' 30-to-40-dollar pay raise in defiance of the 5% pay policy. And comrades, how does one do it? And the answer arrived at is to give a worker a bonus if he does the full 40-hour working week.

It is an old industrial gag used and accepted by the London transport workers, in that they get a 200-dollar-a-year "bonus" if they have a clean "crime" sheet for the year. And comrades, it is no more than a piece of industrial blackmail; for only the employer can win. Be reported for alleged inefficiency, and the transport worker loses his yearly bonus. Stay out a day or arrive late for work, and the Ford worker not only loses that amount of pay for time not worked, but another two, three, or four hours are deducted from his weekly pay packet as punishment.

It would be foolish not to accept that the politically dictated pay level is popular with the broad mass of the British public, while the national Right-wing press and the employers love it even to the unbelievable sight and sound of Britain's Tory Party leadership in isolation and disarray as the Tory rank and file make their token gestures for a laissez-faire capitalist system. But what has happened, comrades, is that the working class of Western Europe have been trapped into a managerial society, as so often prophesied by the heralds of the Managerial Revolution.

The American liberals have looked longingly at many of Europe's hard-won health benefits, pensions, and various small social and industrial reforms. But now under Carter the American Right have moved into the picking bowl, and what they want is a Government working-class pay policy dictated and dominated by all the economic might and force of the State. And there is no American employer who will not scream for joy should an American Government put this policy into practice, for it will mean, as in Europe, that no longer will any employer, big or tiny, have to fight it out in confrontation with a united militant working class, but all he will have to do is sit in the sun on his fanny while the embattled workers are forced to fight out their pay claim with the armed and economic might of the government of the day. The interests of any employers as a collective are by their very definition against the well-being of the working class; and if the employers support the policy of the State, then let the workers beware and look to their lines of defense and attack.

But now to go from the sad to the sublime and to report the victory of 56 women who walked out on strike over the dismissal of Kathy Armstrong and Marie Jones. These two 17-year-old girl workers at a Merseyside

(Beatles man) bedding factory refused to operate a pillow-stuffing machine because the feathers were flying up their skirts and tickling their thighs. The two girls were asked to stand in for two workmen, but as Marie said "It was really unfair, because we were never paid the same as the men. It was also humiliating when my skirt flew up." The women won their fight to get Kathy and Marie reinstated, and now their fight is for the male rate for operating the feather machine.

I am waiting and wondering if the press office at Buckingham Palace will send me my requested press invitation to view Prince Charles when he gives out various awards next week within the British Museum. I'll—we'll—go anywhere for a lashing of free drinks, and never let it be said that the working class are snobbish in relation to Royalty. But watch the Government pay code no matter how finger-lickin' good the American Government try to sell it as.

Arthur Moyse, London



Wives of striking British Ford workers resist being used in a "back to work" movement. (John Sturrock/Report photo)

Pizza Workers Pie The Boss

Perhaps every cloud does have a silver lining. For the waitresses at Ria's Pizzeria in Chicago, their silver lining was worth about \$35 apiece.

During a rather dismal organizing attempt at Ria's last May, militant workers there filed wage claims with the Wage and Hour Division of the Department of Labor for the difference between their current pay scale and the minimum wage, as well as the money that waitresses had to take out of their own pockets to pay for undercharges and walkouts. This practice, while illegal, is common to most restaurants, and Ria's workers found little reason to believe that their grievances would be dealt with. The situation looked even more grim when the owners sold the restaurant, and with it any obligation they had to the workers' wage claims.

Then, around October 15th, the waitresses began receiving checks for varying amounts between \$30 and \$40 from the previous owners of Ria's. The Wage and Hour Division had done their job and coerced the bosses into paying up.

For the workers who wanted something more than the meager wages and disgusting working conditions they faced at almost any restaurant job, this experience gave them a sense of having exerted some control over their lives. For scab workers who depended on the good graces of the boss for their silver linings, there was some bitterness. According to the workers still in contact with their old boss, he is very angry that his workers would betray him in such a way. But to quote one of the rebel workers at Ria's: "Screw the man if he can't take a joke."

did you notice?

THE BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS reports that part-time work now accounts for 20 million jobs, about a fifth of total employment. It finds that most of these jobs are filled by people who do not want to work 35 hours or more. It also finds that this part-time work force is growing about 4% per year, or twice as fast as the rest of the work force. Most such work gets low pay: Average earnings were only \$2.87 per hour, as against a \$5.04 average for full-time workers. But some better-paid jobs are split between two people who want half-time since they discovered there are more interesting things to do than work.

THE LATEST CHICAGO ABORTION SCANDALS, some involving kids who only thought they were pregnant, and some involving doctors racing each other to see how many abortions they could perform per hour, prove once more that important matters should not be left to the profit motive. Would there be such scandals if the staffs were salaried and the services were for free?

ARE YOU LOOKING AHEAD TO A PENSION? John Daniel worked as a trucker in Chicago until 1973, when he retired at age 63 because of cataracts. He had been promised a monthly pension of \$400 if he retired after age 60 with 20 years' service, but he was counted out because of a four-month involuntary layoff. He won a ruling that he could take the Teamster pension fund to court under federal laws against fraud, but this fall the US Supreme Court ruled against him—stating that he had no legal remedy. This may apply to all who have not contributed to their own pension funds. But workers can bargain for additional assurances against such outcomes.

SAYS KENNETH COCKREL, black Detroit radical of the '60s now sitting on the City Council: "We've evolved to an era where Barbara Walters rides around in jeeps in Cuba with Fidel Castro, and Leonard Brezhnev hugs Muhammad Ali, and Nixon exchanges cars with Brezhnev and Kosygin. The world has become a little smaller, and it's not all that shocking to say you're a Marxist." The same news item reports that Cockrel's radical law partner of the '60s, Justin Ravitz, is "now a Criminal Court judge who metes out sentences as sternly as his conservative counterparts". And the "criminal justice system, nationwide, has a payroll of more than a million employees on a full-time basis" and is still growing because, despite these amenities, it is so hard to keep the lid on.

Lies, Damn Lies & Statistics

Statistics are all around us. Even in the regular press you can find articles explaining that while in 1956 the average wage earned by full-time working women was \$2,000 less than that of full-time working men, in 1975 the average wage for women was \$5,000 less, and the average wage for women with a college degree was \$7,000 less than that of men with a college degree. But what is the average wage? How is it figured?

The "average" can refer to the mean, the median, or the mode. The mean is the most common average; you say the golden mean when you're talking about something in the middle. The mean is figured by adding the numbers you want to average, then dividing the sum by the number of numbers that you added. For example, if there were five people—one who made \$1,000,000 a year, two who made \$8,000 a year, one who made \$5,000 a year, and one who made \$3,000 a year—their mean income would be \$204,800 a year. Obviously this figure does not come close to the actual income of any of the five people.

The median average is the number that splits the distribution of the numbers you want to average in half. The median number has the same number of numbers above and below it. In our example, the median income would be \$8,000 a year.

The modal average is the least used of the three averages. It is the number that occurs most frequently of all the numbers you want to average. In our example, the mode would be \$8,000 a year because two people made it.

In our example the median and the mode were exactly the same, while the mean differed markedly. If there were many more numbers to be averaged, however, the mean would be closer to the other two averages. The median is the average used by the US Department of Labor in its statements on wages because its economists feel that the median partly discounts the effect of very high or low wages. As the Labor Department is the source of most statistics on wages, you can assume that most references to average wages are to median wages. Nevertheless, the three different ways of computing the average make it possible to juggle the "average" figure to pick whatever average most supports whatever conclusion the writer is trying to make.

plp



NOW HEAR THIS: According to a study by the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH), more than four million workers in the United States are exposed to noise levels even higher than the lenient US Federal regulations allow. The Federal regulations, set by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), allow workers to be exposed to up to 85 decibels. Research has shown that noise above 70 decibels but below 85 decibels (about the level of noise in a busy office) causes partial deafness in 700,000 workers every year. The NIOSH study estimates the number of workers continuously exposed to more than the legal limit at 4,279,750, with 296,880 continuously exposed to noise above 100 decibels.

CHEMICAL ALERT: Yet another common industrial chemical has joined the ranks of proven cancer-causing substances. Ethylene dibromide (EDB), widely used as an additive in leaded gasoline and as a pesticide—especially on grain crops—has been shown to be a carcinogen in a study by the US National Cancer Institute. There is no estimate at this time of how many workers are exposed. Jobs on which EDB exposure is likely include farm worker, oil-refinery worker, gas-station attendant, and, of course, worker in a chemical plant manufacturing

EDB. Like all other cancer-causing chemicals, EDB has no safe level of exposure. No worker should be routinely exposed to this chemical.

BENZENE STANDARD NOT "BENEFICIAL": The Fifth (New Orleans) Circuit Court of Appeals has struck down one of OSHA's better standards. The recently issued standard for benzene is illegal, according to the Court, because it would be too expensive for employers to abide by and would not bring "substantial" enough benefits. The standard lowered the amount of benzene vapor a worker could be exposed to from 10 parts per million (ppm) to 1 ppm, and set a standard of no skin exposure to benzene, which can be absorbed through the unbroken skin. Benzene is widely used as an industrial solvent and degreaser, and in the manufacture of plastics and synthetic rubber, with at least 600,000 workers in the US exposed according to US Labor Department statistics. Benzene has been conclusively shown in many studies, both in the US and in other countries, to cause a five-times-higher-than-normal rate of leukemia in workers exposed to it. One wonders if the ruling might have been a bit different if it were judges instead of factory workers who were exposed.

TURN, TURN, TURN: It appears that even time-study people (and I use the term loosely) have their uses. According to a report released by the time-study firm SRI International, workers on "rotating" shifts (that is, workers who alternate between day, evening, and night shifts instead of having one regular shift) have problems. Physically, rotating-shift workers suffer more accidents, both on the job and off, and more serious illnesses than straight-shift workers. Rotating shifters also have higher rates of alcoholism, nervousness, and fatigue.

GETTING THE LEAD OUT: OSHA has at long last set a new standard for exposure to lead. Used in 120 different occupations, including storage-battery manufacture, glass making, paint making, soldering, and printing,

and also as a gasoline additive, lead causes sterility and damage to the brain and kidneys. The US Labor Department estimates that more than a million workers are exposed to lead. Currently the legal standard for lead dust in the air is 200 micrograms per cubic meter (ug/cu.m.), a concentration that is known to cause brain damage to a sizable percentage of exposed workers. Under the new standard, the limit for the air would be 50 ug/cu.m., and a new standard for blood lead levels—60 micrograms per 100 grams of blood—would be established. The new standard would require employers to reassign workers with high blood lead levels to work not involving any exposure to lead at no loss in pay.

There is, of course, a catch. The standard doesn't become fully effective for five to ten years, depending on the industry. Under the provisions of the regulation, the standard for blood lead levels would be 80 micrograms per 100 grams of blood (ug/100 gm.) for the first year, dropping to 60 ug/100 gm. thereafter. The air standards will be phased in over at least five and up to ten years.

KEEPING UP: According to US Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Joseph Califano, over 15,000 of the 7,000,000 industrial chemicals used in the US have been tested for their effects on workers exposed to them. One reason for this is that the Government and business together have the capacity in personnel and lab space to test only 500 chemicals a year. Even assuming that results in business-sponsored studies are honest (a bad assumption in view of the pronounced tendency of employers to cover up information that might reduce their profits), this number shows up poorly against the approximately 5,000 new industrial chemicals introduced every year. If some of the labs and technicians now used to produce new and more horrifying weapons and new and more profitable kinds of laundry soaps were reassigned to keep up with new industrial poisons, maybe the record would be a little better.

THE JOKERS (a morality tale)

It had been a miserably long and sweltering summer. Tempers seemed to reflect the heat like steam rising from hot pavement. The older man who operated the donkey switch engine that spotted rail cars at the plant was ordinarily good-natured almost to a fault. His new switch crew, a bushy-haired man of about 35 and a younger man in his 20s, persisted in teasing the engineer. At first the switchmen were really not vindictive, but the heat of the season and the apparent helplessness of the victim seemed to urge them on.

"Say, Herman, why don't you learn to run that thing or git off it and let someone else on who can?" The engineer would reverse his engine to pull back a string of empty cars, only to have the couplings part while the two switchmen laughed at his consternation. "Now, you-ah-fellas-ah-quit-ah-doing dat!" The younger man mocked the heavy German accent of the engineer. "Na, na, now you-ah-fellas quit-ah-pickin' on me!" The older man bit his lip and said nothing.

The harassment kept on. The little locomotive would couple into a drag of cars only to find itself powerless to move them because the brakes were still set. The drive wheels would spin, sparking even more heat into the already hot rails. The switching that normally should take 15 minutes was taking an hour. The unloading crew enjoyed the delays because they were paid by the hour and really didn't care whether the work was done or not. The more delays, the less they had to work. Besides, it was kind of fun to watch the agitation of the old German.

As the schedule was delayed, the boss, concerned at the slowness of the switching, called in the engineer for an explanation. "But Mr. Gunderson," he protested, "it's not mein fault!" When the older man got excited, he began to stutter and his heavy accent made him difficult to understand. "Dem switchmans pla-pla-play tricks und me. It's-it's-it's not mein fault!"

The foreman was curt. "If you can't get along with your fellow workers, you can look for another job. If you can't do the work, I'll get someone who can. I don't want any more delays. Delays cost money! Do you understand?" The engineer was somewhat bewildered. "But-but..." The boss was adamant. "No buts. Just see that we have no more delays, and don't tell me about the others. I'll talk to the others."

The next afternoon, when the three-o'clock crew came on duty, Herman the engineer met the older switchman at the foot of the stairs in the plant locker room. "Ah, there you are, you old bastard. What's the idea rattling to the boss on us, anyway?" Herman cowered back. "But, vell, you-you-you..." He got no further as a fist struck him in the mouth and he fell to the concrete floor. He got dazedly to his feet, helped by one of the other employees. "You better go see the nurse; your lip is all cut and swollen." The nurse was sympathetic. "My, what happened to you?" Herman mumbled something about having fallen.

All that evening the switching went like clockwork. There were no delays. The next evening the harassment began again, but was not as bad as it had been. The following day was Friday, and the temperature was hot! There seemed not a breath of air stirring. The badgering was renewed in earnest. The bushy-haired one was en-

joying himself. "How'd you like that slap in the mouth, Herman, you old kraut eater?" "Vhy-vhy-vhy do you do dis to me?" The younger man sneered. "Cause we're going to get you fired, you old bastard!"

The switching was getting impossible. Every time there was a coupling, the pin would be pulled. Finally Herman waited for the signal to pull back a drag of cars, and then, picking up an iron bar, stepped around to the side of the engine in time to catch the bushy-haired one pulling the coupling pin. The iron bar descended. "Wow! You son of a bitch! You've broken my arm!" The man was dancing in agony, clutching his arm and gritting his teeth in pain while tears flowed down his cheeks. Seeing what had happened, the younger man came running round the engine. "I'll get you for that, you old bastard!" The bar descended again, this time on the head of the other harasser. Luckily, the hard hat worn by the switchman deflected the blow, but the bar glanced down across the man's face and blood spurted from his nose and mouth. The switchman reeled backward.

The engineer was now thoroughly enraged, and started toward the pair with his iron weapon. The two took off at a run for the locker room, where they slammed and locked the door behind them. Herman sat down on the steps, panting. Sweat was rolling down his face. Soon he rose, dropped the iron bar by the steps, and started to walk back toward the locomotive. He had taken about ten steps when the door opened behind him. The two switchmen were running toward him now, both armed with short pieces of iron pipe. The engineer broke into a run, with his adversaries in hot pursuit. "We'll git you now, you old son of a bitch!" Around the engine they ran, right past the boss, who had come out of his office to check on the delay.

The two gave up the chase at the plant gate and re-

turned to face the foreman. "We told you night before last he was crazy—now look what he's done!" The younger man was still bleeding from the nose and mouth, and the bushy-haired one was nursing his badly bruised arm. "We told you you oughta fire the nutty bastard—now you've got to!" "Yeh," said the younger man. "For no reason he just started hitting us with that steel bar!" "My God," added the other, "we coulda been kilt!" "Yeh, and if we hadda bin, it woulda bin your fault!"

The boss looked at them for a minute. "All right, you two, both of you clock out on the time clock right now. Be in the personnel office tomorrow morning at ten." "What? What the hell is that all about?" The foreman was noncommittal. "Just do as I say. I'll see you in the morning!"

Promptly at 10 am the door to the inner office opened and the foreman motioned the two men to come in. Seated at a long table were the plant manager, the personnel officer, the foreman, and the chief of plant security. "All right, men, you can sit down." The only two vacant chairs were at one end of the table. At the other end was a television receiver like those monitors in the plant security office. It was a closed-circuit television tape. The security man flipped a switch and a picture appeared on the screen. The men were fascinated at the view of the plant switching yards. The camera had been slowly panning across the environment. The little switch engine was moving, cutting out cars, stopping, reversing.

The two switchmen watched themselves at work. There was no sound, but their actions were very easy to observe. The jokes they were playing on the engineer didn't seem so funny now. The two looked at each other, then at the scene on the tape. There on the screen was the bushy one pulling the coupler pin, and then the engineer appeared with his iron bar. The fight was on! The camera stopped panning and followed the action through until its end. The switch was flipped again. The show was over.

"Well, men, what have you to say for yourselves?" It was the plant manager. The older one shrugged his shoulders, the younger said nothing. The personnel officer handed each a sealed envelope. "Here is all the pay due you. You are officially discharged."

The younger man looked glum. "He's the one that started the fight, the old bastard—you saw him hit Bill with the bar, didn't you?"

The plant manager's eyes narrowed. "Now you listen to me." His voice was almost a whisper, but his anger was apparent. "You two antagonized that man beyond his endurance. He's already been fired. We can't employ anyone who can't control himself, regardless of the provocation. But the thing I regret most about this is that we had to let him go because of what you two jokers did to him. At your ages you can get other jobs, but he won't have an easy time of it. I hope you two are proud of yourselves! You almost caused a man to commit murder!"

The two stumbled out of the room. "Hell," said the fuzzy-headed one, they can't do this to us. I'm going to the union!" "Not me," said the younger one. "I'm going to look for another job. It's been a long hot summer, and I don't like this kind of work anyway."

Walt Drannan



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ANNOUNCEMENT

The Chicago Branch has received its bundles of the September and October issues of the Spanish anarcho-syndicalist magazine *Bicicleta*. The price per copy is \$1.50. Anyone who has ordered an issue and not received it is urged to write the Chicago Branch now.

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(Received October 14th Through November 17th)

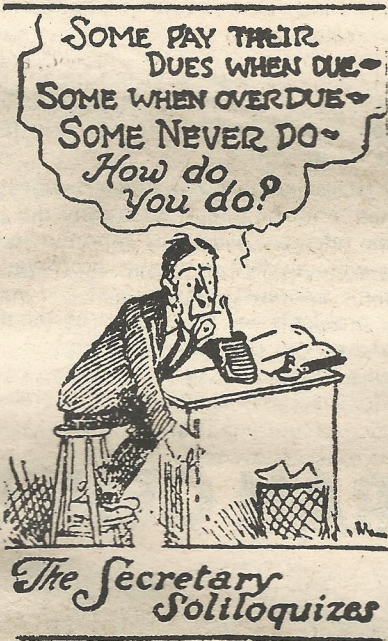
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Many thanks, Fellow Workers, for your support.

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AND IF ALL ELSE FAILS...

A deejay won a partial payment on overdue pay for the staff of a Latrobe, Pennsylvania radio station. He played Johnny Paycheck's "Take This Job and Shove It" for four straight hours until the boss came up with some money.

WHAT IS EQUAL WORK?

The demand for equal pay for equal work has officially raised the question "What is equal work?" Out of a past that has generated very unequal rates comes the run-around answer that different work is equal if it draws equal pay. Past privilege perpetuates itself in the fact that two-thirds of those who get within a nickel of the minimum wage are women, or again in ghetto skin color, and in many other ways it stretches out into our impending old age: In 1975 the median annual Social Security payment to men was \$2,485, but the median payment to women was only \$1,699.

The September issue of *Fortune* contained a satirical lament that the Equal Economic Opportunities Commission (EEOC) is paying the National Academy of Sciences \$200,000 to come up with a "fair, objective, comprehensive, and bias-free" way to evaluate jobs. The EEOC wants to settle such questions as those the Denver nurses raised when they claimed it was sex discrimination for the City to pay them less than it paid plumbers. The nurses sued and lost.

The EEOC suspects that there has been an "intentional use of job-classification procedures" to discriminate because of sex or race, and so does everyone else.

The battle against sex discrimination has opened up some traditionally male fields to women. But how fast? As of midsummer there were five female union bricklayers in these 50 states. On Labor Day the Associated Press noted that 1500 women are working in and around coal mines, mostly in Appalachia, earning a typical \$325 per week and sometimes serving as officers of UMW locals.

How is this for progress? In 1956 the median earnings for women workers were 63% of the median earnings for

men, but by 1974 they had dropped to 57% of the median earnings for men. In 1968 there were 1.5 million blacks below the official poverty level. This year 1.6 million are below it, and the number out of work in black ghettos has doubled.

Here and there a woman has a job that brings in \$325 a week. Here and there a black has moved into a job behind a desk. But the overall picture has not improved. It is the overall picture that is important.

The fight against race and sex discrimination tends to become individualized, broken up, dissipated as the most outspoken blacks move up and out of the old neighborhood and the women's battle focuses more on differentials in the upper income range and less on the large number of women earning close to the minimum wage.

How can one decide whether Mary's work should pay the same as John's or Alice's or more—and if the latter how much more? It has been argued that the market can decide all that—that workers will stay away from harder or more objectionable jobs unless a higher rate of pay is offered, and that the few who take training for special jobs will win their reward through supply and demand. That has been argued, but does anyone seriously believe it to be the case?

Job-evaluation systems were set up to insure that "them as has, gits". Corporations set them up years ago to make hierarchic biases look objective, to enable those up the ladder to tell those down the ladder that though they would like to give them a pay boost, this scientific and impersonal job-evaluation system made it impossible. This served dominant class, race, and sex groups—but primarily served employing-class interests. During World War II unions sought job-evaluation systems to cope with the wage freeze through shifts in job titles and some changes in job content to warrant raises without touching the bottom of the pay scale.

A job-evaluation system assigns points for certain job characteristics—for example, responsibility. But how about some compensation on those pointless jobs that need some responsibility to give them any zest?

Educational requirements and length of training are given points too. John went to work, sweated, and got blisters while Mary went to college, studied hard, and got a degree. Now Mary says that because of that she should get a lot more than John. John points out that society paid more of Mary's education costs than she or her family did; figures it might have been more pleasant to sit in a classroom than to tar a roof; and asks whether, because of the way they spent their 20th year, she is en-

titled to have it a lot better than he has it the rest of their lives? Mary's prof reads the BLS forecast that by 1985 we can expect to have 580,000 PhDs but jobs for only 187,000 of them, and asks whether the purpose of education should be to grab a bigger chunk of pie or, as with music lessons, to enable us to participate in life more widely and enjoy it more fully.

Should Alice get more than Mary? Should John get more than both? Argument about such questions must delight any employer who has been worrying about the 15% of the labor force who have been to college. Employers have feared that their exposure to "pinko profs" and "the culture of critical discourse" would radicalize them, and through them radicalize their fellow workers. But if these college kids learned only to ask how much more they can get than their fellows instead of asking how to improve the general lot, the employers have no need to worry about them at all.

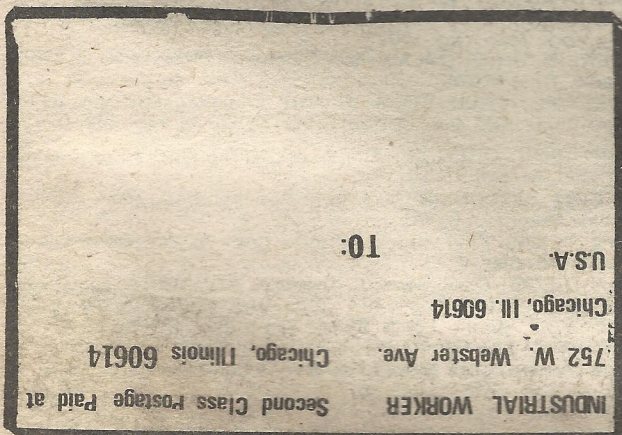
It's the age of macro-economics anyway, so let's forget about John and Mary and think about how different wage structures affect that general lot. We have a very uneven distribution of wealth and income. Lester Thurow, economics prof at MIT, says: "The richest 10% of our households receive 26.1% of our income, while the poorest 10% receive only 1.7%.... The top 10% own 80% of all that can be privately owned in the United States, and the bottom 25% own nothing." The misdirection of our lives and labor comes from within that top 10%, but the patterns of living are set by the wage structures for the bottom three-quarters.

The foundation of the wage structure is the pay scale at the bottom, and we make the whole structure far more trustworthy by strengthening the foundations than by propping up the embellishments on the roof. The foundation is rather vague and flimsy: habits, customs, and notions of decency, of an acceptable standard of living, and of whether one can afford to raise a family. These notions in turn reflect the purchasing power and practices, not of the few at the top, but of the bulk of the working class. The protection for any of us, when new technologies undermine the market for our skills, is the manner of life of the bulk of our fellow workers.

Spreading that income around on the base of the pyramid spreads it rather thin and doesn't cope with the basic evil that we are letting our enemy misdirect our work. Using it to correct inequities in the upper salary ranges will only bid up the price of the status symbols for which those folks go into hock, and will probably lead to family quarrels there over who wanted the damn things anyway.

We will be better off if we apply a class point of view.

Fred Thompson



INDUSTRIAL WORKER

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The events in Iran over the last few months follow a familiar pattern for Americans. Every week *Time* and *Newsweek* report the coups and power struggles in South America, the Middle East, Southeast Asia, and Africa. Analysis is usually limited to variations on the theme "The natives are at it again." Tribal differences, ethnic divisions, religious conflicts, and modernization are all used to explain the chronic political and economic instability of Third World countries.

Yet if we examine these upheavals we can see common threads running through them. These Third World nations are caught in similar positions in the world economy. They are peripheral or underdeveloped in relation to the developed nations of Western Europe, North America, Russia, and Japan. Traditional forms of survival have been disrupted to make way for the development of a modern economy; but the small modern sectors are dominated by transnational corporations and small local ruling elites. Modern production is geared toward providing raw materials and cheap labor for the developed nations. Most inhabitants do not get anything from the "development" of their country. The old world has been destroyed, and the new world looks worse and worse.

Sometimes, as in Iran in the last few months, the dispossessed resist. Opposition to the Shah's dictatorial rule has been mounting. On September 8th, massive rioting culminated in a police massacre of hundreds of demonstrators. Martial law was declared in Tehran and several other cities. Strikes of teachers, doctors, government employees, construction workers, workers in heavy industry, and more began and continued throughout October.

These strikes focused on political as well as economic demands, including freedom for all political prisoners and an end to martial law. Soon the strikers were joined by the oil workers, thought by many to be a coddled labor elite. Surprisingly, they endorsed the political demands of the other strikers, and added demands for the replacement of foreign oil workers by Iranians and for the expulsion of the consortium of transnationals that runs the National Iranian Oil Company.

Tehran was almost idle as the whole city joined the strike. Oil revenues were down 80%, and the national treasury lost \$800 million during the first two weeks of the strike. Despite the crucial significance of oil to the stability of the country, the Government was unable to restore production with coercion or with wage offers of 40% for oil workers. The economy showed grave danger

signals; rich Iranians had been transferring their assets out of the country at the rate of \$3 billion since September 8th. Inflation is projected to rise between 10% and 20% in the next six months.

During the first weekend of November demonstrations and riots resumed, and the police apparently did little to quell them. The religious overtones common in Middle Eastern politics were evident as rioters destroyed movie theaters, but their awareness of political and economic sources of their problems was manifested by the destruction of banks and offices of foreign airlines.

The Shah apparently used these riots as an excuse to hand the country over to the military. General Azhari,

the new head of the Government, began a crackdown on corrupt officials high in the Government in an attempt to increase the credibility of the new regime among its subjects. Meanwhile, demonstrations have continued and have been brutally suppressed by Government troops.

On November 15th the oil workers ended their strike. The Shah's representatives assured them that their political demands would be met, with the exception of the demand to have foreign oil workers replaced by Iranians. It seemed that the new military government had stemmed the crisis, at least for the time being.

Will this militarily-enforced stability last? What are the underlying structural causes of the discontent? Some are political, some are economic, most are both.

Iran's "prosperity" of the last few decades is based on oil. Its oil fields are owned by the State and managed by

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IRAN GENERAL STRIKE OVER



Funeral for demonstrators killed in Tehran by the Iranian Army becomes an anti-Government demonstration during the recent strike wave in Iran. (LNS photo)